Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 249029
ORIGIN ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CU-06 CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-02 INR-07
IO-14 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-02 PM-05
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05
/105 R

DRAFTED BY ACDA/PA:JMPOPE:CF
APPROVED BY ACDA/PA:TAHALSTED
----------073276 180447Z /21
P 172120Z OCT 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
INFO USDEL MBFR VIENNA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY

UNCLAS STATE 249029

USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PARM, SOPN

SUBJECT: OCT. 17 PRESS ROUNDUP

BELGRADE FOR USDEL CSCE

1. RICHARD BURT OF NEW YORK TIMES REPORTED THAT CARTER ADMINISTRATION, "REACTING TO GROWING CONCERN IN CONGRESS AND DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT OVER OUTLINES OF NEW SOVIET-AMERICAN ACCORD LIMITING STRATEGIC ARMS, HAS BEGUN TO MOUNT STRONG DEFENSE OF PROPOSED AGREEMENT." WRITING IN OCT. 16 TIMES, BURT QUOTED HIGH ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL AS SAYING THE PROPOSED AGREEMENT MEETS MAJOR OBJECTIVES OF WHITE HOUSE FOR ARMS CONTROL. ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL, ACCORDING TO BURT, SAID IT REPRESENTS "MUCH BETTER DEAL" THAN 1972 SALT
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 249029

AGREEMENT AND 1974 VLADIVOSTOK ACCORD. BURT SAID "U.S. CONGRESS AND LOWER LEVELS OF BUREAUCRACY ARE ONLY NOW BEING BRIEFED ON DETAILS, BUT SEVERAL ASPECTS OF UNDERSTANDING HAVE ALREADY AROUSED CONTROVERSY. ONE PRINCIPAL QUESTION BEING RAISED IS WHETHER PROPOSED LIMITS ON NEW GENERATION OF SOVIET LAND-BASED MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRV'S ARE ADE-QUATE TO SAFEGUARD COUNTRY AGAINST NUCLEAR ATTACK. CARTER ADMINISTRATION, LIKE PREVIOUS ONES, VIEWS AN ARMS AGREEMENT AS CENTERPIECE OF U.S. - USSR RELATIONS, AND FAILURE TO GAIN CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL OR WIDESPREAD PUBLIC SUPPORT WOULD

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

CONSTITUTE MAJOR BLOW TO ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY.
ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL, DEFENDING TERMS OF UNDERSTANDING,
SAID THAT IT HAD SUCCEEDED IN ACHIEVING THREE PRIMARY
GOALS FOR STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION SET BY ADMINISTRATION:
PROVIDING EACH SIDE WITH EQUAL BUT LOWER NUMBERS OF FORCES,
SLOWING DEVELOPMENT AND DEPLOYMENT OF NEW WEAPONS, AND
ACCOMMODATING SPECIAL U.S. STRATEGIC CONCERNS REDUCING
VULNERABILITY OF AMERICAN MINUTEMAN LAND-BASED MISSILES TO
SOVIET ROCKET ATTACK DURING 1980'S. OFFICIAL SAID 1972
ARMS ACCORD WAS BASICALLY AN ASYMMETRICAL AGREEMENT BECAUSE
IT GAVE SOVIET UNION 40 PERCENT ADVANTAGE IN NUMBERS OF
LAND AND SEA-BASED MISSILES. THIS WAS CORRECTED IN 1974
VLADIVOSTOK AGREEMENT, OFFICIAL NOTED, BUT FORD-BREZHNEV
UNDERSTANDING FAILED TO PLACE ANY SIGNIFICANT LIMITS ON
WEAPON MODERNIZATION. ALSO, IN ALLOWING SOVIET UNION TO
DEPLOY AS MANY AS 1,320 MIRV-EQUIPPED MISSILES, HE SAID,
U.S. MINUTEMAN FORCE WOULD HAVE BEEN RENDERED HIGHLY VUL-
NERABLE. ADMINISTRATION BELIEVES THAT AGREEMENT NOW UNDER
DISCUSSION WOULD CORRECT THESE DEFICIENCIES. BOTH SIDES'
FORCES WOULD BE REDUCED TO AN EQUAL LEVEL OF APPROXIMATELY
2,200 AND THREE-YEAR LIMITS WOULD BE PLACED ON WEAPONS
MODERNIZATION. MORE IMPORTANTLY, IN PUTTING SEPARATE
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CEILING OF ABOUT 800 ON NUMBERS OF LAND-BASED MISSILES
WITH MIRV'S, OFFICIAL SAID, AGREEMENT WOULD ENHANCE PROS-
PECTS OF SURVIVAL FOR LAND-BASED U.S. MISSILES. WILLING-
NESS OF MOSCOW TO CONSIDER LIMITS ON NUMBERS OF MIRV-
EQUIPPED LAND-BASED MISSILES APPARENTLY CONSTITUTED, IN
ADMINISTRATION'S VIEW, CHIEF NEGOTIATING BREAKTHROUGH
DURING GROMYKO VISIT."

2. HENRY BRADSHER, WRITING IN OCT. 16 WASHINGTON STAR,
SAID TENTATIVE SALT AGREEMENT DOES NOT "BLOCK DEVELOPMENT
OF MORE DEADLY WEAPONS THAT PRESIDENT CARTER MADE KEY TO
HIS REVISED APPROACH TO ARMS CONTROL." AS IT NOW STANDS,
BRADSHER POINTED OUT, TENTATIVE TREATY'S AUTHORIZATION
FOR MODERNIZATION WOULD PERMIT PENTAGON TO CONTINUE IM-
PROVING ACCURACY OF ITS MISSILE WARHEADS. IT MIGHT ALSO
PERMIT DEVELOPMENT OF STRETCH VERSION OF SUPERSONIC FB-111
BOMBER AS SUBSTITUTE FOR B-ONE. IT WOULD PERMIT DEPLOY-
MENT OF NEW TRIDENT ONE SUBMARINE-LAUNCHED MISSILE. AND
UNLESS AGREEMENT IS REACHED ON NEW WEAPONS, PENTAGON COULD
BUILD MX MISSILE, BRADSHER SAID, ADDING IT WOULD PERMIT
SOVIET UNION TO CONTINUE TRYING TO MATCH U.S. WARHEAD
ACCURACY, DEPLOY ITS NEW SS-NS-18 SUBMARINE MISSILE, DE-
PLOY SS-16 MOBILE MISSILE. "WHAT IT WOULD DO TO NEXT
GENERATION OF SOVIET MISSILES NOW UNDER DEVELOPMENT IS NOT
YET DECIDED," BRADSHER CONTINUED. "U.S. NEGOTIATORS," HE
SAID, "STILL HOPE TO TIGHTEN TERMS OF NEW TREATY BEFORE IT
IS CONCLUDED. BUT PRESENT SOVIET DETERMINATION TO RESIST

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

ANY CHECKS ON CONTINUING IMPROVEMENT OF THEIR STRATEGIC
ARSENAL LEAVES POSSIBILITY THAT ADMINISTRATION WILL FAIL
IN ITS BASIC POLICY AIM FOR SALT.... ASIDE FROM SOVIET
REFUSAL TO AGREE ON MODERNIZATION HALT, THERE HAS BEEN
PRACTICAL PROBLEM OF POLICING ANY AGREEMENT. WHILE IT HAS
BEEN POSSIBLE TO COUNT SILOS, SUBMARINES AND BOMBERS WITH
RECONNAISSANCE SATELLITES AND THUS VERIFY COMPLIANCE WITH
SALT ONE, AND WOULD BE SIMILARLY POSSIBLE TO CHECK ON
VLADIVOSTOK TERMS, PHOTOS FROM SPACE DO NOT SHOW WHETHER
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 249029

WARHEAD GUIDANCE HAS BEEN IMPROVED. INFORMED SOURCES SAY
DEFINITION OF 'NEW WEAPONS' HAS PROVED STUMBLING BLOCK IN
U.S. EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE BAN ON THEM. U.S. IS STILL TRYING
TO PREVENT INTRODUCTION OF COMPLETELY DIFFERENT TYPES OF
MISSILES, FOR INSTANCE, BUT THIS IS HARD TO PIN DOWN." HE
EXPLAINED MOBILE MISSILES ARE BEING CONSIDERED AS NEW. U.S
HAS NOT YET BUILT ITS MX MISSILE OR ANY OTHER MOBILE TYPE.
SOVIETS HAVE TESTED SS-16 INTERCONTINENTAL MISSILE BUT ARE
NOT KNOWN TO HAVE DEPLOYED IT YET. THEY HAVE, HOWEVER,
DEPLOYED MOBILE SS-20 MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILE, APPARENTLY DE-
SIGNED FOR POSSIBLE USE AGAINST WESTERN EUROPE OR CHINA,
BRADSHER SAID. "BUT U.S. ANALYSTS WORRY THAT IT IS SIMPLY
FIRST TWO SECTIONS, OR STAGES, OF SS-16 AND COULD EASILY
BE TURNED INTO AN INTERCONTINENTAL WEAPON BY ADDING THIRD
STAGE." BRADSHER SAID "SOVIET EFFORTS TO RESTRICT CRUISE
MISSILES AND U.S. EFFORTS TO CONTROL BACKFIRE WERE MAIN
OBSTACLES TO TURNING VLADIVOSTOK AGREEMENT INTO SALT TWO
TREATY DURING FORD ADMINISTRATION. COMPROMISES ON THEM
NOW EMERGING ARE, SOME SOURCES SAY, KIND THAT COULD HAVE
ARRANGED LAST YEAR. THEY WERE REFUSED BY THEN-PRESIDENT
GERALD R. FORD PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF SENSITIVITY TO PENTA-
GON AND CONGRESSIONAL CRITICISM OF THEM IN AN ELECTION
YEAR." ---

3. WRITING IN OCT. 15 WASHINGTON POST, MURREY MARDER
REPORTED ON SECRETARY VANCE'S THREE-HOUR MEETING LAST
FRIDAY WITH JACKSON SUBCOMMITTEE. MARDER SAID JACKSON
LATER USED MILD "RELATIVELY MILD LANGUAGE IN DESCRIBING
SENATORIAL 'CONCERNS' AND 'DIFFERENCES.' BUT BY TIME JACK-
SON FINISHED LISTING DISAGREEMENTS TO REPORTERS, THEY WERE
VAST. THEY COVERED VIRTUALLY ENTIRE RANGE OF COMPROMISES
THAT PRESIDENT CARTER SAID HAVE NOW BROUGHT U.S. AND SOVIET
UNION 'WITHIN SIGHT' OF AN AGREEMENT." JACKSON, ACCORDING
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PAGE 05 STATE 249029

TO MARDER, SAID "OUR CONCERNS RELATE TO THREAT TO OUR
MINUTEMAN MISSILE FORCE, TO CRUISE MISSILE." LATER JACK-
SON ADDED TO "SEA-BASED STRATEGIC SYSTEMS" AND TO ADEQUACY
OF RESTRICTIONS ON BACKFIRE. IN ADDITION, JACKSON EXL

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

PLAINED, THERE IS "AN ENORMOUS PROBLEM THAT REMAINS" ON HOW TO VERIFY COMPLIANCE WITH AGREEMENT. AS RESULT, JACKSON SAID, "I THINK THERE ARE NUMBER OF OUTSTANDING DIFFERENCES THAT HAVE TO BE RESOLVED." MARDER SAID "STRONGEST COMPLIANT" IN SUBCOMMITTEE'S HEARING WAS OVER LACK OF CONSULTATION BY ADMINISTRATION ON ITS NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOVIET UNION. VANCE, HE SAID, ACKNOWLEDGED NEED FOR CLOSER CONSULTATION. MARDER SAID VANCE AGREED AFTER DISCUSSION WITH BYRD, BAKER AND OTHERS TO RETURN FOR FURTHER TESTIMONY THIS WEEK, AND TO MEET ABOUT EVERY TWO WEEKS WITH THIS GROUP, IN ADDITION TO REGULAR CONSULTATIONS WITH SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE. JACKSON SAID "WE ARE GOING TO TRY TO REGULARIZE AN ARRANGEMENT BY WHICH WE CAN BE KEPT CURRENTLY INFORMED, DAY-TO-DAY, OR WEEK-TO-WEEK AS SITUATION MIGHT ARISE IN FUTURE." VANCE TOLD REPORTERS HE FULLY AGREED THAT IT IS "EXTREMELY IMPORTANT" TO INTENSIFY CONSULTATIONS. MARDER REPORTED THAT "THIS MEANS, INFORMED SOURCES SAID, THAT CARTER ADMINISTRATION IS NOW BOUND TO SENATE CONSULTATIONS WHICH ARE LIKELY TO SLOW DOWN ITS NEGOTIATIONS ALTERNATELY WITH SENATE AND WITH RUSSIANS." MARDER ALSO SAID "CARTER ADMINISTRATION MAINTAINS THAT ON BALANCE, PROJECTED SALT ACCORD WILL REPRESENT BETTER AGREEMENT THAN ANYONE ANTICIPATED DURING NEGOTIATIONS CONDUCTED IN 1974, 1975 OR 1976 -- ALTHOUGH ADMITTEDLY FAR SHORT OF CARTER'S ORIGINAL GOALS. AN ADMINISTRATION SOURCE SAID YESTERDAY 'WE HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO THROTTLE DOWN' NUCLEAR ARMS RACE IN CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS KNOWN AS SALT TWO, AND 'STILL HAVE OPTIONS OPEN TO PROTECT OUR SECURITY,' AND THEN BARGAIN FOR GREATER ADVANCES IN SALT THREE. SEARCH FOR 'AN IDEAL AGREEMENT,' HE SAID, SHOULD NOT BE AT EXPENSE OF ACHIEVING ATTAINABLE GOALS."

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 249029

4. HENRY TREWHITT OF BALTIMORE SUN REPORTED OCT. 17 THAT CARTER ADMINISTRATION SHIFTED ITS PUBLIC ARMS CONTROL OBJECTIVES, SAYING NUMBER OF SOVIET NUCLEAR WARHEADS IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THEIR POWER. FOR THAT REASON, SECRETARY VANCE TOLD INTERVIEWERS, MOST IMPORTANT FEATURE OF PROSPECTIVE NEW SALT AGREEMENT WILL BE LIMITS ON MISSILES WITH MORE THAN ONE WARHEAD. IMPORTANT, BUT LESS IMPORTANT, VANCE ADDED, WILL BE LIMITS ON SO-CALLED HEAVY MISSILES WITH GIANT WARHEADS. TREWHITT SAID "THIS, IN EFFECT, IS CHANGE IN RECENT PUBLIC EMPHASIS, WHICH HAS BEEN ON HEAVY MISSILES. LIMITS ON MULTIPLE WARHEADS HAVE BEEN TREATED AS MORE OR LESS SETTLED. BUT ADMINISTRATION IS KNOWN TO HAVE ABANDONED EFFORTS TO HAVE RUSSIAN HEAVY MISSILE, TO CONSTERNATION OF STRATEGISTS WORRIED ABOUT SOVIET INTENTIONS AND CAPABILITY." TREWHITT, SAID VANCE, APPEARING ON "MEET THE PRESS," DENIED ADMINISTRATION, OUT OF FRUSTRATION, HAD SOFTENED ITS POLICIES ON ARMS CONTROL, HUMAN RIGHTS AND MIDDLE EAST. REGARDING ARMS CONTROL, VANCE SAID CURRENT

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

NEGOTIATIONS MAY PRODUCE NEW SALT PACT IN "NEAR FUTURE."
VANCE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT ADMINISTRATION HAS DIFFICULT TIME
AHEAD IN CONGRESS ABOUT SALT AND OTHER IMPORTANT ISSUES.

5. AMERICAN PAPERS PICKED UP UPI AND AP DISPATCHES FROM
MOSCOW QUOTING PRAVDA AS SAYING U.S. AND USSR HAVE DRAWN
CLOSER TO CURBING NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AND ARE "ON ROAD" TO
NEW SALT ACCORD. PRAVDA SAID "NOT ALL QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN
SOLVED, BUT THEY UNDOUBTEDLY CAN BE SOLVED IF ONE IS
GUIDED BY INTERESTS OF PEACE AND ADHERENCE TO PRINCIPLES
OF EQUAL SECURITY OF BOTH SIDES."

6. WILLIAM BEECHER, WRITING IN OCT. 14 BOSTON GLOBE,
SAID "YOU HAVE TO READ BETWEEN LINES OF BRIEF REUTER'S
REPORT FROM GENEVA ON TUESDAY TO GRASP ITS POTENTIAL SIGNI-
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 07 STATE 249029

FICANCE. IT QUOTED PAUL WARNKE AS SAYING NEGOTIATIONS HAD
BEGUN PREVIOUS DAY WITH SOVIET SALT DELEGATE VLADIMIR
SEMENOV 'TRANSLATING INTO TREATY FORM' ISSUES ADDRESSED
COUPLE OF WEEKS EARLIER BY PRESIDENT CARTER AND SOVIET
FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREI GROMYKO. WARNKE TOLD NEWS CONFER-
ENCE THAT IN HIS VIEW SALT TWO TREATY MIGHT BE SEWED UP IN
"RELATIVELY FEW MONTHS.' THOSE WHO KNOW WARNKE, DIRECTOR
OF ACDA, MIGHT BE DISPOSED TO DISCOUNT THIS A TAD, SINCE
HE IS AN IRREPRESSIBLE OPTIMIST. THEY MIGHT, THAT IS,
EXCEPT FOR TWOPIECESOF INFORMATION NOT WIDELY KNOWN.
FIRST, BOTH MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON APPEAR TO HAVE MADE
POLITICAL DECISION TO PRESS AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE FOR
TREATY SINCE, FOR FIRST TIME IN CHECKERED HISTORY OF SALT,
THEY HAVE BUCKED DOWN FROM POLICY TO TECHNICAL LEVEL WHOLE
ARRAY OF SALT ISSUES -- BOTH THOSE AGREED ON IN GENERAL
TERMS AND SOME NOT SETTLED AT ALL. SECOND, SEMENOV QUI-
ETLY RUSHED BACK TO MOSCOW TO GET SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS,
PRESUMABLY TO FIND OUT WHETHER HE WOULD BE ALLOWED
ENOUGH LATITUDE TO TENTATIVELY DISPOSE OF ALL REMAINING
SALT ISSUES. FACT THAT WARNKE SOUNDED HIS OPTIMISTIC
FORECAST AFTER DAY OF INTENSE BARGAINING STRONGLY SUGGESTS
THAT SEMENOV WAS GIVEN UNPRECEDENTED LICENCE TO NEGO-
TIATE BROAD ISSUES, NOT JUST WORD-SMITHING QUESTIONS.
PROBLEMS DOUBTLESS WILL ARISE, PROBABLY REQUIRING AT LEAST
ONE MORE SESSION AT GROMYKO'S LEVEL. BUT IF HISTORY IS
ANY GUIDE, ONCE RUSSIAN LEADERSHIP DECIDED IT'S TIME FOR
AN AGREEMENT, SUBSTANTIVE MOUNTAINS CAN SUDDENLY BECOME
MOLEHILLS."

7. WASHINGTON POST REPORTED OCT. 16 THAT OCT. 19-21
INTERNATIONAL NUCLEAR FUEL CYCLE EVALUATION CONFERENCE IN
WASHINGTON IS FOLLOWUP OF MAY'S LONDON SUMMIT OF WESTERN
INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS AND WAS FIRST CALLED FOR BY PRESI-
DENT IN NUCLEAR POLICY STATEMENT APRIL 7.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

8. WASHINGTON POST'S GEORGE WILSON REPORTED OCT. 17 THAT
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AIR FORCE FORMALLY REQUESTED DEFENSE CONTRACTORS TO SUBMIT DESIGNS WITH 45 DAYS FOR MX MISSILE. WILSON NOTED PRESIDENT HAS NOT MADE DECISION TO ADVANCE MX FROM ITS CURRENT PAPER DESIGN PHASE TO FLYING PROTOTYPE. "HE COULD POSTPONE THAT DECISION UNTIL NEXT YEAR BECAUSE THERE IS STILL MUCH PAPERWORK TO DO, INCLUDING EVALUATION OF COMPETING DESIGNS AIR FORCE HAS JUST REQUESTED." ALSO OCT. 16, POST REPORTED FROM MOSCOW THAT PRAVDA CALLED BROWN'S TENTATIVE RECOMMENDATION TO DEVELOP MX MISSILE "DANGEROUS POLITICAL PROVOCATION" THAT RAISED NEW OBSTACLES TO SALT.

9. WASHINGTON STAR PUBLISHED OCT. 16 REPORT BY AP'S RICHARD E. MEYER ON PRESIDENT CARTER'S INTERVIEW WITH NEWSPAPER EDITORS AND BROADCAST NEWS DIRECTORS FROM AROUND U.S. IN WIDE-RANGING INTERVIEW, CARTER MADE THESE POINTS: "I THINK WE ARE APPROACHING SETTLEMENT WITH SOVIETS" ON SALT. IN ADDITION, "WE HAVE ALREADY GOTTEN GOOD, SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS, I BELIEVE, ASSURED" ON COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY. "WE HAVE AN ADEQUATE MEANS FOR VERIFYING COMPLIANCE WITH NUCLEAR AGREEMENTS." U.S. SYSTEM FOR MONITORING COMPLIANCE IS "NOT PERFECT" BUT "WE DO NOT HAVE HANDICAP ... THAT EXCEED HANDICAP OF SOVIETS." VANCE

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Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 22-Sep-1999 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PUBLIC ATTITUDES, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), NEGOTIATIONS, PRESS SUMMARIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 17-Oct-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
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Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
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Executive Order: N/A
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Expiration:
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Format: TEL
From: STATE
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Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: c19cc924-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN ACDA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 754354
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: OCT. 17 PRESS ROUNDUP
TAGS: PARM, SOPN, US, UR
To: GENEVA INFO MBFR VIENNA MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/c19cc924-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
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EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
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